FIAT JUSTITIA. RUAT CŒLUM.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

OR AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY JOURNAL, AND REGISTER OF NEWS.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Independence, U. S.*

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AMERICAN SLAVERY.

"I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever."—JEFFERSON.

Selected.

From the [London] Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter.

GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY:—SPEECHES OF MR. BROUGHAM, MR. WILBERFORCE, MR. DENMAN, SIR JAMES MACINTOSH, MR. BUXTON, HON. & REV. JOHN NEEL, REV. J. W CUNNINGHAM, MR. SYKES, AND THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

On the 3rd inst. (May) a general meeting of the members and friends of the London Anti-Slavery Society, was held in the Freemason's Hall, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the Chair. The Hall was completely filled. The business of the day opened with reading a report, the substance of which will be found in the preceding number of the Reporter, (No. 35.) so that it need not be here repeated. The only new matter contained in it, respected the increase of those excellent and useful institutions Ladies' Associations, and the wider circulation of the Reporter (only 15,000 being now circulated monthly;) both which measures were strongly recommended, as means of awakening and extending the public interest in this great cause.

Mr. Brougham rose to move the adoption of the report. "I feel," he said, "that an apology is justly due to your royal highness and this meeting, for presuming to address you thus early, and thereby to delay, though but for a few moments, the high gratification of your hearing once more lifted up this place, that voice so dear to humanity and freedom, which sounded the trumpet of our earliest victory, and is now happily and mercifully preserved to marshal us to our latest triumph! (*loud cheers*) The necessity of my quitting you, on an indispensable avocation of a professional nature elsewhere, is my only justification for thus interposing myself to your wishes, though for a very brief space.

That we now meet with better hopes of success I think I may venture to assert, when I see so many around me whom opposition has only made more zealous and united in their efforts, and whose zeal has not been damped, though tried by a test far more severe than open conflict,—I mean disappointment and delay. and it furnishes fresh and solid ground of confidence, that even disappointment and delay have only increased our union and zeal! I appeal in proof of this to the meeting assembled before me, and I confidently ask you, whether it may not be advantageously compared in point of its number and respectability, with any former meeting assembled within these walls on the like sacred and animating occasion?

But then it may be said, have we no fears in another quarter? Fears there may be; but it will be our own fault if they continue long to disturb us. Let us but persevere in our exertions, and let the example of our activity and perseverance be followed by the rest of the country, and in those quarters where alone opposition may continue to exist—whether it be in the executive or legislative, it must finally cease:—the public voice duly exerted must finally prevail.

I am sure that in prefacing my motion it is wholly unnecessary for me to dwell upon any of the topics which the excellent report now read embraces. On those topics you will be addressed by those who are to follow me; but this I would have you keep in mind, that you can expect little to be effected, unless the Parliament is made well and betimes acquainted with the clear and unvarying sense of the people on this great question;—unless Parliament and those over whom Parliament exercises a wholesome, and upon all occasions a necessary—but upon no question so necessary a control, as the question of West Indian Slavery—I mean the government of the country—are made acquainted with the firm and unalterable resolution of the people of England, that that for which no argument can be urged shall cease to stain our legislative enactments, and to be a blot upon the character of our country, and a curse to so many of our fellow subjects,—shall be made, I say, to cease, and that within a reasonable time—not rashly—not suddenly—not without due preparation on the one hand; but on the other, not to be deferred indefinitely as now, until it shall appear that the progress we pretended to make is either that of standing stock still, or of going right backwards. Unless, I repeat it, the opinion shall be impressed on the Legislature of your solemn determination, that early and efficacious measures shall be adopted, for accomplishing the wishes of the people, and the resolutions of Parliament on this subject, it is my firm belief that your disappointment will be renewed, and that neither Government will effect, nor Parliament enforce, those reforms which they have promised to effect in compliance with the universal voice of the English people!"

Mr. Brougham quitted the room amid universal cheering, which burst out anew on Mr. Wilberforce rising to second the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce. "I rise to second the motion of my honorable and too partial friend, and in the last sentiment which he has expressed I fully and entirely concur. Unless the people of this country come forward with a zeal and a unanimity worthy of themselves—worthy of their history—worthy of the country to which they belong; we shall in vain expect within any time to which we can look forward, to see Slavery abolished in our Colonies.

Sir, it is, I confess, with a melancholy retrospect that I review the years that have passed. If we compare our prospects at the present moment with what they were even many years ago, even many years earlier than the period to which my honorable friend has adverted, we shall find that we have been indeed far from advancing, and that our progress has been of that kind which be justly stated to be even worse, than mere standing still; actually going backward. It was not in the year 1823 that Parliament first came to resolutions, which afforded a well grounded hope that we should see immediate measures adopted in the Colonies for giving effect to our wishes: I must go back to a still earlier period, to a period when even one of the most moderate of our statesmen, of those who considered themselves as the most prudent and sober-minded men, looked forward to the termination of slavery in a very few years. By those who are acquainted with the history of this great cause, it may be remembered that in that year in which the grand contest took place respecting the abolition of the slave trade, I mean the year 1792, many of our opponents sought to defeat our efforts by charging us with intending the *immediate* emancipation of the Negroes. But though we did not bring forward at that time any such proposition, yet, it will be remembered that Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, did, in that very year 1792, standing in his place in Parliament propose that all Negroes that should be born in the West India Islands subsequently to the first of January 1800, should be born and live free; and that from that day not a slave should ever be born in the British Dominions. If that proposal had been carried into effect, there would at this time scarcely have been a single slave existing in our Colonies. And by whom was that proposition proposed—by whom was it supported? Why, by the great opponent of the immediate abolition of the slave trade, by Mr. Dundas, the chosen advocate of the Colonists, and who came forward expressly in that character; and who yet fixed on eight years as the period which he himself proposed publicly to Parliament in his place, for commencing the total termination and extinction of slavery. Shall we then be deemed hasty or presumptious if we expect now, after all the time that has passed, to be making some progress to the same end? It is really shocking to think that we should have retrograded so far as we have done; that Englishmen should so far have forgotten their obligations to see that every subject of the empire enjoys the blessings of freedom, as coldly and calmly to acquiesce in the prolonged continuance of slavery in the British colonies; and to be satisfied with a sort of distant view of eventual freedom, feebly and languidly speculating and hoping, as if it might, at some time or other, perhaps a century or two hence,—ultimately—we know not how or when,—take place

It is really necessary, Sir, that this country should exert itself, and in that view I see with pleasure so respectable a meeting as this, because it tends to shew that sympathy with the state of our suffering fellow-subjects in the West Indies is still felt, is not extinct within us. And it would indeed be strange, considering whom I address—a Prince of that house, which is the natural defender and patron of our liberties, and which was called over to the throne of this country for that very purpose—I say it would indeed be very strange, if under that patronage, with such a feeling in favor of our cause as I witness around me,—it would be strange if we were to despair under such circumstances as these! But, Sir, I have lived too long not to know the

sensibility is no match for self-interest;—and if the people will not act upon the principle of eternal and immutable justice, and consider themselves as bound to obey the laws of God, and to respect the true rights of man, they trust merely to a superficial and evanescent feeling, which will in the end disappoint us, and leave those poor creatures to remain sunk in their present state of degradation and misery.

I have said in some respects things were even worse that they were, rather than better. And here I must say, that it was well advised in the report that we should make ourselves acquainted with the details in the different numbers of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, especially the late numbers in which a view is given of the tardy, and in some respects, backward progress of Colonial Reform.

I know that there is a danger of persons being wearied, with the same tale, month after month on the same subject. But, it would be indeed a disgrace to us, if while we can read, without tiring, the productions of fancy and imagined tales of distress, we can shut our eyes and ears to the real practical grievances and miseries, which are suffered by those whose cause we are bound to vindicate, and whose claim to be considered and treated as our fellow-creatures, and our fellow-subjects, we are bound to respect and enforce.

The Reporters tell us that, a year or two ago my Lord Bathurst, then minister, sent over to the West India Islands, a variety of propositions arranged in eight different bills, in which were embodied the great principles of reform which had been declared by Mr. Canning, in 1823, to be those on which the Government meant to insist. Every one of those bills was rejected at once by almost all the Colonial assemblies—and especially by the Island of Jamaica. And not only so, but in that island they substituted another measure of their own, called a consolidated slave law; containing little more than a repitition of their former odious and oppressive enactments, some being added which really were still more detestable—intrenching more upon the rights of men and upon their dearest interests, than it could have been thought possible any assembly would have ventured upon, even if not from a sense of decency, and respect for the feelings of others—at least from a regard to their own character and interests. I allude to the clauses which not only restricted the freeness of religious worship and instruction, but made it penal for these poor creatures to be found contributing their mite to promote any religious object, or to aid in rescuing themselves from their state of darkness and ignorance, by any payment to religious teachers not of the Church of England; while at the same time it was notoriously impossible, by their own confession, that the slaves should enjoy the ministrations of the Clergy of that Church. Even in the island of Jamaica itself, the Bishop states that, for a population of 400,000 souls, there is only one room in all the churches of the island for 11,500 hearers. And even if the poor slaves were to go to these churches, they are far in too low a state to receive instruction from men educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Ah! Sir, the teaching they require is of a different kind. And there have been persons, blessed be God, who to their honor have gone forth to teach them;—Missionaries who have gone forth with the warmth of the true religion glowing in their hearts; and by whom benefits have been conferred which have been amply acknowledged by the planters themselves, in Antigua especially, and various other islands. And independent of all the spiritual benefits they have conferred, it has been further acknowledged that they have been of the greatest service in promoting the peace and order of the colonies. And so it ever will be; for that religion which comes from God, if cordially embraced, will not only carry people to a better world, but it will scatter blessings in profusion on the right hand and on the left in all the line of its progress.

But to return: the Assembly of Jamaica have gone still further in their measures of hostility to religious instruction; they have passed a law forbidding one poor slave from giving instruction to another, and to prevent all meetings whatever for religious purposes, after sunset, when we know that untill after sunset, the slaves are always employed in the work of the field. Now think only of this,—It would have been some consolation, Sir, to think that these poor creatures can be compensated for all their sufferings in this world, by our being allowed to impart to them that religion which would make them happy in a better. But for men thus to labor to keep them in darkness and ignorance,—thus to prevent them from becoming better acquainted with true religion;—thus to debar them from that only solace from their sufferings;—that only principle which can support them under the load of the life of anguish that they have to endure! Oh! there is something in this so monstrous as to shock every feeling of humanity, and to indicate a singular hardness of heart towards these poor creatures, who seemed to be considered as below the dignity of human beings, and therefore below the sphere of moral and religious instruction. Taking this then as an indication of the state of colonial feeling with regard to the slaves, we cannot but view it with the greatest horror, and feel more strongly the indispensable obligation we are under to interfere. I am happy to say his Majesty's Government has disallowed this atrocious law,—it would have been shocking indeed if they had not. It ought to be known that a similar attempt was made about fifteen years ago, in the time of a former Government. We then opposed with effect, and it was repressed. But this renewed attempt shews that the same pernicious principle still prevails; and that unless efforts are made to counteract it, the future conduct of the colonists will be of the same character and tending to the same cruel results. And this view of the matter it is that I own I feel the most keenly, because although God forbid I should underrate the bodily sufferings of the slaves,—although I cannot but feel how oppressively they are treated in respect to the amount of their labor, and all the particulars which affect the comfort and actually lessen the duration of human life; yet their intellectual and moral degradation appears to me a feature in their case, if possible still more appalling.

What, I would ask, is it which, in general, prevents the negro slaves in the West Indies from keeping up their numbers, though in a climate perfectly congenial to their constitution—while the free negroes around them increase, and while even the negro slaves in the United States? a climate far less congenial to them, they also increase, and that rapidly? Whence I say, can it arise, but from their being worn down by the excess of their labor, and by the other severities they endure, that even in the congenial climate of the West Indies their numbers should decrease, while, in the unfavorable climate of America they increase?

Sir, I know not any one feature in this monstrous condition of colonial slavery so shocking as that which was alluded to in the Report, of our not having promoted marriage among the slaves. I remember Mr. Park, the African traveller, tells us of the sacredness with which the marriage vow is there regarded, and of the strong influence of domestic attachments, unfaithfullness in the marriage relation being less prevalent than in Europe. And yet we find that, in the West Indies, the marriage tie is scarcely known, and that during nearly the two centuries that European colonies have existed there, those poor creatures, instead of being raised in the scale of being, instead of receiving from their European masters, that instruction which would advance them in religion and knowledge, and in the arts of social and domestic life, on the contrary have even lost those elements of domestic happiness which they before enjoyed, so as to have sunk almost to a level with the brutes in their habits of promiscuous concubinage. We must, indeed, Sir, open our eyes to this grievous evil, which calls for the strenuous exertions of all the friends of religion, and of the happiness of mankind, to apply to it a remedy.

Again, let me remind you how much we have retrograded of late. We are now, in the year 1828, only looking forward to a slow progress towards the freedom of the slaves; when, in fact, in the year 1792, thirty-six years ago, it was proposed that all slavery should be abolished in our colonies; and that, even in the short space of eight years, that abolition should effectively commence. Let this, I say, Sir, shew us that we ought not only persevere in our efforts, but to increase them;—that we ought to be much more in earnest, than we have been,—that we ought to be striving as my honorable friend has urged, with zeal and unanimity; and that we ought not to suffer ourselves to be deceived by evasive assurances, or be led to suppose it possible that slavery should be abolished by those very assemblies who have so frequently told us that its abolition can only be productive of ruin to themselves.

Having thus frankly and honestly told us, that they conceive that to give liberty to the slave, would be to bring ruin to themselves, can you expect they will set themselves fairly and honesly to take the measures recommended to them, and which are required to gain that object? This would be to suppose them to act contrary to the very principles of human nature, or on principles altogether superhuman. No: It is for you, or rather for Parliament, to do the work; and justice even to the West Indians themselves, requires that it should be effected; for we know well that the Almighty has happily so constituted things, under his moral government of the universe, that when we inflict injury on our fellow creatures we cannot escape from still deeper injury ourselves. There is a moral retribution which is sure to follow perseverance in evil, and which has plainly followed, in the present instance.

It is utterly impossible, indeed, that they who live in the administration of the petty despotism of a slave community whose minds have been warped and polluted by the contamination of slavery, should not lose that respect for their fellow creatures, over whom they tyrannize, which is essential in the nature and moral being of man, to secure them from the abuse of power over their prostrate fellow creatures. We cannot expect they should see things in the light we do who have the happiness to live in a free community; and therefore to expect they should adopt the requisite means to abolish slavery, is to expect not only an inconsistency, but almost an impossibility. And if we, with all the blessings we enjoy, do not feel, in the degree we ought, gratitude to God, and a desire to communicate to others a participation in our blessings, how can we expect those will be disposed to do it, who are led by circumstances, by the force of habit and the strength of prejudice, to affix so inferior a value to those blessings—blessings which even we ourselves do not sufficiently estimate.

I will now, Sir, detain you no longer; but only stop to remind you of one point of great importance. It appears that the great island of Jamaica has recently thrown down its gage, and set the British Government at defiance, distinctly declaring that they will not comply with its wishes: that they will do no nothing. Now, I cannot but hope, that if Government will not, Parliament will take up the gage, and will endeavor at length to impart to the poor slaves those blessings which have been too long withheld from them, and this object if

must be your part to effect by every possible exertion. But it must not be a cold or lukewarm, or feeble effort: it must be an earnest, active, and zealous co-operation of the whole humanity of the land. We must, restlessly, press onwards, knowing the high duty we have to discharge to God and to our fellow creatures."

The motion passed unanimously.

(To be Continued.)

FOR THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. No. I.

At this late period, when the contest is fast drawing to a close, and after so much has been said and ably written on both sides, it may seem almost unnecessary to add another word on the subject. But the very nearness of the time for decision impels me to offer a few further remarks in relation to this highly interesting and all-engrossing topic. The day of election is now close at hand, when we are individually to declare our respective preferences in an *effective* manner—when we shall be called upon to repair to the polls, and then and there, in the discharge of a high and sacred duty, to choose the Chief Magistrate of this great Republic.

It is therefore incumbent upon us, that we should inquire into the relative qualifications of those, who are candidates before the people for this honourable and important station. This is a duty, which we owe not less to ourselves individually, than to our country at large, and to those who are to come after us. That liberty, purchased and secured by the valour and sufferings of our fathers;—those free and glorious instituions, the results of their wisdom and experience, we have received from them, not merely for ourselves, but also in trust as a sacred and invaluable legacy for posterity. And that individual is unworthy the name of a freeman, who for any mercenary considerations whatever, would barter away his glorious birthright, and place in jeopardy the rights and liberties, the peace and happiness of his country.

In order to form a correct opinion of the question which now agitates and distracts this country, we will pass in hasty review the prominent events connected with the last Presidential Election. It is known to all that John Quincy Adams, Gen. Jackson, W. H. Crawford, Henry Clay, and J. C. Calhoun were candidates for the Presidency. Calhoun however was withdrawn at a late period of the canvass, and the Electoral Colleges having failed to make a choice, the three first named, having received the highest number of votes, were returned to the House of Representatives. On the first ballot Jackson had 7 votes, Crawford 4, and John Q. Adams 13, which being *a majority of the whole number* (each state having one vote) he was accordingly elected President agreeably both to the form and spirit of the Constitution.

Scarcely however had he selected the members of his cabinet, and commenced the arduous duties of his office, before an opposition was formed against him, as base and malignant in its spirit, as it was unholy and unprincipled in its designs. A combination was entered into by the desperate, the disappointed and the disaffected of all parties, which had for its object to distort and frustrate the measures of government: to slander the men who so ably administer its affairs; to spread abroad, fear, distrust and jealousy; to imbue the minds of the people with prejudice against many of our best and purest citizens; to trample with unhallowed foot upon all the sacred and social relations of life; to embitter even the domestic home, and the fire side circle; to array father against son, and brother against brother, in the ardent hope, that, amidst all this "war of elements," this confusion and needless alarm, they might succeed in their dearest wish of all which undoubtably was to turn out the present incumbents, and to get the offices for themselves!!

Ah! here we have touched the secret spring! Here we have the true reason of all that shameful calumny, denunciation and abuse, which for years has been heaped, with unsparing hands, upon our present virtuous and enlightened Administration. It is this too which has amalgamated the otherwise discordant elements of party; it is this love of distinction and hope of future promotion under the promised reign of General Jackson, which has caused many of the old-contending partisans to see eye to eye, and which has brought to pass some of the strangest events which have ever occurred in the political history of our country. Who would ever have thought that men who were once respected for their talents and their integrity,—that conductors of the public press, who were wont to give a virtuous direction to public opinion, and to stand forward the advocates of sound republican principles would so far abandon their elevated ground, and prove recreant to their own professions as *now to unite with their late adversaries* in gratifying the angry feelings of envy and disappointed ambition, by slandering their more favoured and successful rivals. What excuse can be offered for such inconsistent conduct? None surely that can satisfy any but themselves! Who, a few years ago would have thought that we, of the present day shonld witness Mordecai M. Noah in close league and fellowship with William Coleman, and the editors of the New-York Enquirer, Albany Argus, and Richmond Enquirer fighting side by side with those of the Philadelphia Gazette and New-York Evening Post, for the notable purpose to be sure, of putting down the Administration of John Quincy Adams! Truly we may say that wonders have not yet ceased.

The spirit and purpose of the opposition, was early declared by one of the leaders of the party in these memorable and emphatic words: "We will put down the present Administration though it shall be as pure as the Angels at the right hand of God!" There was to be no judging the tree by its fruits. It formed no part of their plan to wait for the Administration to develop its principles and its measures, and then to approve what was right, and condemn what they honestly thought to be wrong. No! it did not suit them thus to act; they cared not whether the measures of the Administration were right or wrong,—whether they were for the good of the country, or not; they had determined to place themselves in battle array against the President and his Cabinet, and were resolved that nothing should alter this stern determination of party spirit.

Nearly four years have now elapsed since John Q. Adams was elected President during all which time this violent and lawless party have used every exertion within their power to render him unpopular. They have endeavored to excite opposition to his re-election, on pretexts of the most frivilous nature; they have had recourse to the meanest artifices to enlist the populace on their side, and with a zeal worthy of a better cause and a nobler aim, have strained every nerve to accomplish their unholy purposes, and to carry into full effect the presumptuous declaration which has been already quoted. The belief however is honestly and confidently entertained, that all these slanderous and abusive attacks upon our present able and excellent Administration will only in the end, serve to fix it still deeper in the respect and affection of the great body of the community. Reflecting men are not quite so easily duped, as some of the leaders of the Jackson party seem to imagine; and while those who have been placed in office by the free will of the nation shall continue to discharge their duties with fidelity and acceptance, a high-minded and generous people will not be so ungrateful as to reward their faithful services, by turning them out with disgrace. Unable to find any thing among the various measures of the present Administration worthy of being justly condemned, the Opposition seems chiefly to rely for success on the numerous calumnies which they have industriously put in circulation. They have for a fiend-like purpose, used their utmost efforts to blast the reputation of some of our most eminent men, and to fix a stigma upon the fair fame of John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay. To the oft refuted charge of "bargain and corruption," they still cling with a pertinacity which belongs to a last and only hope. The Jackson leaders must really reckon very poorly on the intelligence of the people, and on the sagacity of even their most implicit followers, if they suppose that this false and ridiculous charge can any longer be considered correct. It is notorious that the very men who are the loudest in their denunciations on this subject, do not themselves believe in the truth of the charge. Their business however is not with facts; they care not for them: all their wish is to excite popular indignation against the government; and while they can appear in public, and gravely make, and argue too in support of this charge, they only laugh in their sleeves to think how they have duped their followers!

That there are men of talents on the side of Gen. Jackson no one will deny, and all the regret to be felt on that score is, that they should throw away their influence, their time, and their talents in support of such a man, and such a cause, It ought not, however by any means to be forgotten, that those very men who are *now* the warmest advocates of Gen. Jackson, were, only three or four years ago, his most inveterate opponents! This fact of itself speaks volumes; it shows in a striking point of view, the true character of this Combination party. Why, it may well be asked, do those *now* support the General, who *then* did all in their power to oppose him? With what face or consistency can they pretend to advocate his claims to the Presidency, when at the last election they denounced him as totally unfit, and declared that the state of Tennessee was disgraced by nominating him for that office!!

Leaving this question for them and my readers seriously to ponder, I will now close this communication,—reserving however a few additional observations for the next weeks paper, A. B.

From the Investigator.

AN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, was held at Winchester, Virginia, on the 21st of August, composed of delegates from societies in Loudoun and Frederick, and organized by the election of Joseph Hackney as President, and Thomas Wright, as Secretary. The sittings were held openly in the town-hall and continued untill the 28d. Their proceedings compise "*An Address of the Virginia Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, to the People of Virginia.*" This Address recommends that a provision be made in the constitution of the State, declaring that all slaves born after a certain period shall be free, on arriving at a certain age, and the colonization of such as would be willing to leave the country, and they say that the condition of the colony at Liberia is such as to afford convincing evidences of the benefit of a removal.

We regard this as a very bold and important movement on the part of the friends of emancipation in Virginia, and without claiming the gift of prophecy will simply remark, that the time may come when the 23d of August will be gratefully remembered by millions, as a day in which a decisive stand was taken in behalf of the rights of the Africans, on the American continent.

The ship Alexander, at Philadelphia, has brought for Col. Powel an extraordinary improved Durham short horned Cow, which produced in England, as appeared by certificate, 31 quarts of milk a day, in June last, and afforded from the milk of 7 days, 19½ pounds averdupois, of butter. *Frea. Jour.*

From the Western Luminary.

AN ESSAY ON

THE COMPARATIVE VALUE OF FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR.

No.—I.

A few months since, a gentleman, whose good opinion does me honour, called on me to point out the comparative value of free and slave labour. Considering the existence of negroes as tending ultimately to our destruction, I have not, till lately, bestowed a thought upon the comparative value of their labour, the latter point being hardly worth notice if we take the former for granted. Add to this, that few men are worse qualified to institute such a comparison. Unacquainted with agriculture, I have left it almost entirely to my negroes; hence it may not appear strange if I have found myself obliged to make up their deficiencies every year by the addition of a considerable sum to eke out their produce. My incompetence to the subject obliges me to borrow largely from various sources. Hodgson in Remarks on a journey through North America, and the authors of essays in the African Repositary, and African Observer, will accept the acknowledgement of my obligations to them.

It is, I believe, impossible to point out, with accuracy, the yearly cost of a negro contrasted with that of a free man, yet something near it has been attempted by the author of the following calculation.

Although it may seem, at first sight that the slave costs his master no more than his clothing, yet there are other expenses, perhaps greater than both of these. The most prominent is that of raising children to replace the slave when worn out; an unavoidable expense, for he who purchases them instead of rearing, must pay the expense that has been incurred by another, and when he comes to estimate the interest on the stock so invested, and the value of its annual depreciation, he will find it amount to more than half the hire of a free labourer. Suppose a young man slave costs $ 100, the interest on this sum is $24 per annum. This slave cannot be calculated to live more than 20 years after he comes to maturity; the average term of human life is not so long. His master must, therefore set apart $20 per annum, for twenty years, to replace him, when he shall die, or become too infirm for work. In the event of his living much beyond this period, he must set apart some of his former earnings to maintain him in his old age. The clothing of a slave must cost at least $20 per annum; let us say $15, which is the least it can be reckoned at, even if made in the family. Taxes, medical attendance, and time lost by sickness, $5 per ann. Add the proportion of overseers' wages and maintenance $10 per ann. There are many other expenses, not easily estimated, arising from desertion, a very heavy article of insurance to an industrious master pilfering, &c. The attention and anxiety devolving on the mistress of the plantation ought to be recollected. They are serious considerations, and the attendance upon the sick, a task peculiarly her own, both disgusting and dangerous. Her duties are those of the Samaritan, with this difference, that her good offices seldom secure gratitude, the slave believing her to act merely from interested motives. On recapitulating the expenses enumerated we shall find them amount to $74 for each working man exclusive of food:

Interest on purchase	per ann.	$24
To replace capital	do.	20
Clothing	do.	15
Taxes, medical attendance &c.	do.	5
Proportion Overseers' wages	do.	10
		$74

The ordinary wages of freemen in upper Virginia are from $60 to $75 per ann. with board. It seems then that a slave costs as much as a free labourer, and if he does three fourths as much work, his employer loses 15 or 20 dollars per annum by him. But we shall generally find that slave holders employ twice as many working hands as are employed by those who depend on free labour, on a farm of the same size, and that the farms of the latter are generally better cultivated. Farmers who do sometimes work themselves will cultivate a farm of 3 or 400 acres with the usual proportion of cleared land, by the labors of two freemen, and an apprentice boy, while the slave holder will have at least four or five men slaves, besides many women and children, on a farm of the same size. In this case the slave does not half the work of the free man, although his annual cost is equal.

To raise slaves is at least as expensive as to buy, as may be inferred from the circumstance that no person engages in the business as a trade of profit, and that most of those who raise them are driven by pecuniary distress to sell them to negro dealers, an act both painful and disgraceful. Indeed it cannot be otherwise. He who raises more stock than his plantation can support must dispose of the superfluity, or see it perish before his face; nor does it differ whether the stock consists of brutes, or human creatures, each being equally subject to the same regulations marked on the face of nature by its author.

It should also be remembered that part of the wages of a free labourer goes to raising children to supply his place in society. The owner of slaves who keeps up his stock must maintain double the number of children that he has of grown hands of both sexes, for it is computed that one half of the human race die before the age of manhood. A bearing woman cannot do more than maintain herself. So that every man slave is charged with maintenance of four children to keep up stock. Add that the slave owner is often obliged to vest his capital in a needless slave, sometimes worthless, when a valuable and esteemed servant is about to see his or her partner removed by sale to another state. This is frequently a grievous hardship on the master.

The fund, says Adam Smith, destined for replacing the wear and tear of the slave is commonly managed by a negligent master, or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office for the freeman is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality of the poor as naturally establishes itself in that of the latter. Under such different management the same purpose requires very different degrees of expense to execute it.

The estimates hitherto made relate solely to the expense of raising & maintaining slaves, and to the unproductiveness of their labour. But there are other causes of expenditure, the natural consequences of the system. One is the number of domestic servants, which is generally greater than would be employed if they were obliged to be hired. Now there is no kind of servants as improductive as domestic.—They add nothing to their master's income, they live and are clad at a greater expense than labourers.

Another cause of expenditure may be traced to the nominal value of slaves. Even those which bring him no income are valued by the master at what they would fetch in market.—Hence he is apt to live in a style proportioned to the nominal value of his property, and not to his actual income. He who owns slaves, often, in endeavoring to employ them, takes more pains, and and waits a longer time, for obtaining his desires, than he would if he owned none. To exemplify this in trivial instance. The master who calls a negro to bring fire to light his pipe, if he had no slaves would have fetched it in a shorter time than he usually gets it. Perhaps a sense of trouble, bestowed to little purpose, might have induced him to give up tobacco entirely, in which case the State had been a gainer as well as himself. It would be well if the master's desires were all equally cheap, and as easily satisfied; but this is not the case. Some demon whispers, 'have taste.' Instantly, 'up starts a palace, furniture must be brought answerably to its splendor, company must be invited to see the master's glories, one carriage at least must be in readiness for the use of the ladies, a race of beings equally worthless with those yclep'd gentlemen, the servants as well as horses are withdrawn from works of utility, the wine flows freely at table' while by a necessary consequence, the stable forgets the use of corn. A few revolving summers, and the masters place knows him no more, his slaves are gone to the hammer, himself, with a wretched fragment of his former property, to do penance on the frontier for the rest of his life. He lives in splendor, he dies in poverty. His children, a pampered and useless set, either perish early, or hang, as dependants on their relations, for gentility forbids their learning an honest trade. The great house of the slaveholder is generally contrasted by the want of a barn, sometimes even a stable. The Pennsylvania farmer is precisely the reverse of this. He builds the barn, well knowing that the barn may build the great house, but that the great house will never build the barn.

G. C

(To be continued.)

From the Village Record.

A VIEW

Of the Slave Representation in Congress and the Election of President.

By the Constitution of the United States Article 1, Section 2, clause 3, it is provided—that

"*Representatives*, and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states, according to to their respective numbers which shall be determined by adding to the *whole number* of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, (and excluding Indians not taxed) *three fifths of all other* persons."

The word slave does not occur any where in the constitution. By common consent it was avoided. The words *all other persons*, in the above clause, means the slaves.

The states where slaves are held, therefore have besides a representation for their free persons, their apprentices, and their Indians paying taxes, also a representation for three fifths of their slaves.

By an act of Congress, passed March 7, 1822, there is allowed a representative for every 40,000 persons, *according to the rule prescribed in the Constitution*. And accordingly, the several states now send the following numbers, viz:

Maine,	7	North Carolina,	13
New-Hampshire,	6	South Carolina,	9
Vermont,	5	Georgia,	7
Rhode-Island,	2	Alabama,	5
Massachusettes,	13	Louisiana,	3
Connecticut,	6	Tennessee,	9
New-York,	34	Mississippi,	1
New-Jersey,	6	Missouri,	1
Pennsylvania,	25	Kentucky,	12
Delaware,	1	Ohio,	14
Maryland,	9	Indiana,	3
Virginia,	22	Illinois,	1

In 1820, the latest account or census of all the inhabitants, free men and slaves, was taken; and it appeared that there were the following number of slaves in the different states, viz:

In New-York,	10,088	
New-Jersey,	7,557	
Pennsylvania,	211	
Delaware,	4,509	
Maryland,	107,398	

Virginia,	425,153
North Carolina,	205,017
South Carolina,	258,475
Georgia,	149,056
Kentucky,	126,782
Tennessee,	80,107
Louisiana,	69,064
Alabama,	47,139
Mississippi,	32,814
Total,	1,501,853

There were also a few in Missouri, and none in any other state than these.

By the Constitution and law, as above cited, therefore, there are 22 representatives in Congress for the slaves.

This seems a very large representation for that species of *property*—but so it is. The whole number is one million and a half, of which three-fifths are to be counted, and for every 40,000 of the three fifths one representative is allowed.

A fifth of 1,501,853 is 300,371—three times 300,471 makes 901,113—and in 901,113 there are 22 times 40,000. Thus South Carolina having a white population less than that of New-Jersey—has nine representatives, while New-Jersey has but six

Chester, Deleware, Lancaster and Philadelphia counties, and the city of Philadelphia, have a free population greater than the State of South Carolina—but we in all these counties of Pennsylvania send only six members to Congress, while South Carolina sends nine.

The same disproportion prevails as to the other slave-holding States, viz:

In Maryland every 29,000 white persons send a member to Congress.

In Virginia every 28,000.
North Carolina every 32,000.
South Carolina every 26,500.
Georgia every 27,000.
Tennessee every 37,000.
Louisiana every 24,000.
Alabama every 39,000.

While in Pennsylvania every 40,000 free persons sends a member.

That is to say, 26,500 South Carolinians have as much weight in making and electing Presidents as 40,000 Pennsylvanians. Or 1000 South Carolina planters, owning 65 slaves each, have as much voice as 40,000 Pennsylvania farmers, owning in land and other property ten times the value of the slaves.

That Pennsylvania having upwards of a million of free inhabitants has 26 members—while the Carolinas, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana having together less than a million, have nevertheless 33 members. Pennsylvania with 1,017,000 free persons sends. 26 members.
Virginia with 663,074, 22 do.
N. Carolina with 419,200, 13 do.
Georgia with 189,571, 7 do.
Louisiana with 73,383, 3 do.
Alabama with 96,245, 5 do.

In the election of President the inequality is still greater. The Carolinas, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana, having together a free population of 962,000 free persons, have 43 electoral votes, but Pennsylvania having 1,017,000 free persons has 28 electoral votes.

So that a million of free Pennsylvanians, have only about half so many electoral votes as a million of the slaveholders.

This happens because the Constitution also provides, that, the President and Vice President shall be elected as follows, "Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature shall direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of *Senators and Representatives* to which the state may be entitled in the Congress." See art. 1, sec. 1. clause 2.

The little states of Mississippi, Missouri, &c. each having but one representative, therefore, are allowed to have *three* electoral votes—two being for their senators; and so every state, large or small, has two electors more than it has representatives. The rule works therefore thus: The State of Louisiana has 74,000 white persons, which number of Pennsylvanians will be entitled to but one representitive, whatever property they might possess. These 73,000 whites, however, own 69,000 black slaves, and they are allowed three representatives and five electors.

If by the means of slave representation and the additional electors given to the little states, these slaveholding people succeed in getting a majority of electoral votes for the candidate of their choice, we must submit with a good grace, even if we do not like him.

But they have no right in talking of popularity, and the will of the people, &c. to count any but the *white* people—and the million and seventeen thousand white Pennsylvanians, or the million and a half white New-Yorkers, are as good in the scale as an equal number of Carolinians and other slaveholders.

This is certain. Else the slave holders are nobility, and we northern people are no better than the slaves

To get at the truth, the real, fair, candid truth of the last election for President, these things must be considered.

There were four men voted for Adams, Crawford, Jackson and Clay.

How did the freemen, the free whites vote? That is the fair question—and it can be fairly answered.

First to count by states. There were eight states, entire, voted in the electoral vote, for Jackson. viz:

Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Indiana, and South Carolina. Let these states be therefore counted for him. And he received part of the electoral vote of Louisiana, namely three fifths—and also one thirty-sixth part of the electoral vote of New-York.

His free, white, vote was therefore—

Pennsylvania,	1,017,094
New-Jersey,	257,109
North Carolina,	419,200
Alabama,	96.245
Mississippi,	42.176
Tennessee,	339,725
Indiana,	145,750
North Carolina,	237,440
Of New-York, 1-36th part of 1,332,744	37,020
Of Louisiana, 3-5ths	44,573
	2,627,191

This is the total of the votes of freemen that can justly be counted for Jackson at the last election.

Maryland and Illinois are not counted because though in Maryland he had seven of the electoral votes given, he had not a majority of the polls—there were for

Adams,	14,632
Jackson,	14,523
Majority for Adams	109

So in Illinois—Jackson received two electoral votes; but at the polls there were for

Adams,	1,542
Jackson,	1,212
Majority for Adams,	270

In the above calculation the majorities are allowed to govern the whole vote of the state—thus New Jersey when the majority for Jackson was very small is still put down entire for him.

For Adams the free vote according to the same principle of calculation, was in

Maine,		297,340
New-Hamshire,		243,236
Vermont,		284,346
Massachusetts,		516,419
Rhode-Island,		79,413
Connecticut,		267,181
New-York	26-36	1,008,120
Delaware,	1-3	25,000
Louisiana,	2-5	29,000
Maryland,		260,000
Illinois,		50,000
Adams free votes		3,011,349
Jackson, do.		2,607,629
Majority of free white votes for Adams,		403,720

And if Maryland and Illinois be left out again, or if even carried to the other side, the result will not be materially varied.

From the Port Gibson Correspondent.

We have with astonishment; observed the attempt in Nashville to *brow beat* and *bully* the most respectable gentlemen from asserting publicly what is the absolute truth: that General Jackson was in the year 1811, a dealer in Negroes: and believing it to be our duty to expose falsehoods and to aid the truth, we do assure all men, whether the friends or opponents of General Jackson, far and near,—That in the fall of the year 1811 General Jackson and John Hutchings did descend the river Mississippi and land at Brunsburg at the mouth of the Bayou Pierre in this county, with from twenty to thirty Negroes: That a number of those negroes were brought to this immediate neighborhood—and afterwards encamped for weeks at Mr. Moore's in the McCaleb settlement, ten miles from this town, that on the 27th of December, 1811, General Jackson sold three negroes, "a woman named *Kissiah*, with her two children, *Reuben*, about three years old, and a female child at the breast, called Elsay, in and for the consideration of the sum of $650."—that on the 28th of December 1811, the very day after the former sale, and while at the same encampment, he sold to Mr. James McCaleb, of this county, two other negroes, named Candis and Lucinda, for the sum of $1000. —That he sold other negroes in this county during that trip:—that he sold some at or in the neighborhood of Bayou Sarah;—that after the belief became general in this county that war would be declared against Great Britain, the planters were indisposed to buy negroes, as the market for their cotton would be closed, General Jackson resolved to return to Tennessee, with the remnant of his drove; that while he had his negroes encamped near Mr. Jas. McCaleb's and was making his preparations to pass through the Indian nation, he was informed by one of the most respectable citizens of this county, now living in it, of the law requiring passports for slaves, of the resolute character of Mr. Dinsmore and of his punctilious execution of the duties of his office as Indian Agent. These things we do most unequivocally and unhesitatingly charge and assert.—We do so on the best of authority,—the notoriety of the facts; the declaration of gentlemen of whose truth no doubt can or will be entertained; from written documents, of various kinds, in the *hand writing* of General Jackson himself; as also from the *affidavit* of Mr. William Miller of this county, who came down on board the boat with Gen. Jackson and his negroes; all of which we have heard and read. These things General Jackson cannot, dare not, and will not himself deny, whatever he may suffer others to do.

Silence is the best remedy for anger. If you say nothing, you will have nothing to unsay.

Universal Emancipation.

EDITED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY.

FIDUS ET AUDAX.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1828.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

An adjourned meeting of the 20th biennial session of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c. will be held at Baltimore, Maryland, on the 1st second day (Monday) in the 11th Month; (November) next, at 10 O'clock A. M. EDWIN P. ATLEE.—*Secretary.*

Philadelphia 9th Mo. (Sept.) 1828,

N. B. The different Anti-Slavery and Manumission Societies will please send Delegates. Agreeably to the Constitution no one Society can appoint more than 10 Delegates. E. P. A,

☞ An adjourned meeting of the Convention of the Anti-Slavery Societies of Maryland, will be held on Monday the 27, of October next, at 7 o'clock P. M. at the room over the Office of the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

As business of importance will be transacted it is requested, that the City and County members will be punctual in their attendance. HENRY MANKIN, *Sec.*

DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE. We understand that the La Fayette, Capt. ——, will sail from this Port on Monday next, with 160 slaves for New-Orleans.

AGAIN. As predicted in our last number, our citizens were afforded another view of a gang or *drove* as the southern term is, of a number of slaves of all sex and ages conveyed through our streets on last sabbath morning between 8 and 9 o'clock.—They were confined in a waggon drove by a white man and another rode in the rear as a guard, with all that effrontery so becoming gentlemen the exclusive "*benefactors* of our state."—This gentleman did not sneak through the by-streets but boldly paraded up Baltimore street, with a disregard to the day and the feelings of a majority of our inhabitants so becoming the profession. We would advise the next gentleman who may honor us with his presence in that capacity, to select the hours of 10 A. M. or 3 o'clock P. M. if an exhibition is intended, that our church going population may be edified by so novel a sight.

SLAVERS TURNED PIRATES. That men so lost to humanity as to become engaged in that diabolical traffic, the procuring of slaves on the coast of Africa, should depredate on one another is not when we come to take into consideration the materials of which the crews of such vessels are composed to be wondered at. But a question here arises, whether exclusive of the slave piracy these monsters have not been guilty of piracy on the vessels of all nations not engaged in this traffic who may have been placed in their power,—from the number that has within a short time been perpetrated on or near that coast. We imagine there can be but little doubt of the fact. This thing will grow, and that to an alarming extent if the Maritime powers do not crush the accursed slave-trade—as the armaments permitted or connived at will always put the physical force in their hands. We have a number of times of late seen vessels repaired and fitted out at our port which from the construction of the vessel and its armament proved its destination and use.—We copy the following from the *American* of the 10 inst.

A late Nassau paper says:—"From Havannah we hear much of the extent to which the slave trade is still carried on there. It is said that one vessel lately landed upwards of nine hundred on the coast of Cuba, and that one now fitting out is of considerable force, and is intended to carry 1500 slaves—that some of these vessels overpower Portuguese and other slave traders, and rob them of their slaves, on the coast of Africa, or when meeting them on the passage to Brazil."

If the inhabitants of Cuba were wise and could see their own interest, they would prohibit the introduction of another slave and award a halter to the first person who should bring another of Afric's sons to add to that already numerous class, who must in the course of human events at some future day assert their rights, and burst asunder the chains that now confine them under a grevious bondage.

HONEST GEORGE KREMER. We find by the extract from a Pennsylvania paper below, that "that perfect and upright man in whom there was no guile"—has been thought by his constituents to have misrepresented them, he certainly overstept the bounds of discretion when in his place, in Congress he so vehemently advocated the cause *of slavery*: we were then under the impression it would seal his death warrant, nor have we been deceived. The citizens of Pennsylvania entertain too great an abhorrence of that iniquitous system to sustain a representative, who should proclaim himself an avowed and open advocate of a measure whose continuance in any portion of the Union is a disgrace to the whole body. It is to be hoped that in the election of his successor they have been careful on this subject,—and that they will not be disgraced by their new representative.—but we must forbear "we war not with the dead!"

"Honest" George Kremer, the *cry-aloud-and-spare-not* inventer of the infamous charge of "bargain and intrigue," has been laid up to mould upon the shelf, for this year. He has not been honoured by the Pennsylvanians so much as with even a nomination.

We have had presented for our inspection by Jacob C. Greener (a colored man) a plan for the establishment of a Benevolent association amongst his colored brethren which is evidently calculated, if they would lay aside the prejudices which at present it is feared too much divide them—to promote union and brotherly love.—He also produced a recommendation signed by some of our most respectable citizens who would not in the least degree assist him in his undertaking without first having been satisfied with its utility and feasibility —

In giving place to the insertion of the able communication of A. B.; we have rather departed from the course marked out to ourselves, on the Presidential question: but when we reflect on the ultimate bearing, the success of General Jackson would have on the subject of slavery, if he should be elected to fill that high and honorable station, we think we are justified in its publication, we hope, nevertheless, that before A. B. relinquishes the subject, the notoriety the General has earned to himself in consequence of having been engaged in the traffic of slaves *for profit*, will not escape one possessed with the power of wielding no ordinary pen. There is one view on this subject, paramount to all others, the veto a President possesses on the passages of all laws enacted by the united wisdom of Congress. It is well known to our readers that numerous petitions and memorials are preparing to be forwarded to Congress on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia—if that body at the next Session should not grant the prayers of the petitioners; if the numerous memorials containing the signatures of a vast portion of talents, wealth and respectability of different sections of the Union, are disregarded—with what assurance can the friends of the cause expect, in the succeeding four years to accomplish, their object, when the veto of the President, is sure to annihilate the passage of any law by Congress, on this momentous subject.

ERRATUM. In the last number, on page 28, 1st column, 29th line, instead of "scout" read "scowl."

We give place to the two following articles, from that highly patriotic and useful paper, NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER, of the 11th, inst.

NORTH CAROLINA.

An original subscriber in this state, in a late letter, post-paid, sent us $5, though already in advance as he says, that "times may grow worse because of mistaken southern measures," and he is not "willing to discontinue the Register on account of non-payment." He says the local currency is deranged, and money scarce, "though agricultural products are plentiful and at low prices." Adding, "our state will not flourish unless our policy shall become favorable to internal improvements, domestic industry, and to encourage manufactures, of which we have the materials in abundance."

This is certainly true. No state is better conditioned by nature for these things than North Carolina; but like Virginia, she has long been losing the very *cream* of her population, the free white laboring classes, by emigration, because of her mistaken policy in neglecting, if not refusing, to use her water power, and her rich agricultural and mineral productions, for the supply of her own wants. This has also been the bane of Maryland; but the current has been stopped, and population, with wealth, has rapidly increased in all our manufacturing counties—and lands have risen and are rising in value, because of the greater value of their products, and steadiness of demand for them. We must believe that like causes will ever produce like effects—but the upper country of North Carolina and Virginia is specially favored with seats for manufactories, and materials to keep them in operation, Labor and capital for these may not just now be abundant, but both would flow in rapidly on the establishment of such works as would *separate* the free white people from the mere *working-machines*, or negroes, and thus make labor honorable. Until this is done, the poor, but thinking whites will seek a home in places where they can earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of their brows, without its being imputed to them as a degradation by their wealthy neighbors—who, though possessed of property worth of 50 or 100,000 dollars, shall not feel humiliated in holding their own plough, or driving their own wagon to market, laden with the supplies of their own fields.

SERIOUS THINGS.

In the Charleston Courier the following are given as the concluding remarks of *H. G. Nixon*, esq. in an address made by him, at the public dinner lately given by the citizens of Sumter district to their senator, the honorable. *Stephen D. Miller.*

"By way of conclusion I must say one word on a subject of vital importance to the republic. I approach it with fear and trembling. The bare imagination of it sends a thrill of horror through me; and imparts a kind of sickness to the soul which defies consolation. I allude to the dissolution of the Union of these states. Is it possible that such a subject has been, even, whispered? It has been whispered; it has been spoken aloud in public places; it has been thundered from our orators; it has been written in our books. Surely, they who think and speak thus lightly of this matter, look not to consequences! they forget that war, immediate or ultimate, must be the result of disunion: that the contest will be between friends and and brothers; that in such a struggle victory will not triumph; that an alliance with a foreign tyrant will be inevitable; and that the tragedy must conclude with expiring LIBERTY. They must, also, have forgotten the mournful fact, that civil wars are the most bloody, relentless and revengeful, that ever shook the earth. Review the scenes of the Peloponnesian war, remember the deeds of Marius and Scylla, and learn a lesson from history: and when you have done so, reflect that a dissolution of this union will be succeeded by conflicts more

reading than them all. Be assured, sir, there are angry materials, in this republic, which must not be provoked. *Domestic slavery*, as it exists with us, might cause a war between these states which would stand alone in history; one that would kindle passions which never before raged in battle, and terminate in a government over which death would be the despot.

The advocates of disunion are the friends of revolution. Some may be indignant patriots, who cherish an immortal horror of oppression: such may extort respect. But depend on it, sir, there are a few restless spirits, panting for celebrity, eager to join the ranks of mad ambition, direct the storm, spring to empire, and stand in bold relief in history. Such men would not hesitate to erect a *throne* upon the ruins of *freedom*. Of such, the crisis warns us to beware.

From the Marylander.

"I am very much engaged to transact my business, that I may leave home on my trip with my negroes for sale." *Andrew Jackson.*

Long before Mr. Wilberforce had begun steadily to prosecute the unholy traffic in slaves to judgment and condemnation, we had prohibited it in the most strenuous manner, and have ever since been sedulously engaged in its suppression. Will this state of things continue if we choose as President a man who, for the sake of profit, has debased himself so far as to trade in human flesh? a trade, which, although not illegal, is held too vile and degraded to be practised by any who pride themselves on stainless character.

Passing Events,

DOMESTIC.

Result of the Election of Delegates to the Assembly of Maryland on the 6th inst.

	ADMINISTRATION.	JACKSON.
Annapolis City,	1	1
Baltimore City,	0	2
Baltimore County,	0	4
Harford,	0	4
Anne Arundel,	4	0
Montgomery,	4	0
Frederick,	4	0
Washington,	0	4
Allegany,	0	4
Charles,	4	0
St. Mary's,	4	0
Calvert,	4	0
Prince George's,	3	1
Cecil,	1	3
Kent,	4	0
Talbot,	4	0
Dorchester,	3	1
Queen Ann's,	1	3
Caroline,	4	0
Somerset,	4	0
Worcester,	0	4
	—49	—31
Senate,	5	10
Majority on joint ballot, 13	54	41

The Democratic press announces that it is the intention of the Government to pay off four millions more of the public debt, on the 1st of January next, though it will be some time before official notice will be given from the Treasury Department.

Worthy of Imitation.—One of the Militia companies in Portsmouth, commanded by Capt. John Trundy, at a late company training, voted to dispense with ardent spirits at their meetings this fall. Only a single member voted in the negative.

N. H. Observ.

The Sandwich Rifle Company, under command of Capt. Little, *unanimously* voted at a late company drill, to train in future without *rum*.

The keepers of the public houses in New Bedford have all determined not to open their bars on Sunday; every bar was closed on Sunday the 21st ult.

Brazilian Spoliations.—The National Intelligencer says "We are informed that official information is received at the Department of State, from Mr. Tudor, our Charge d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, that he had effected satisfactory arrangements with the Brazilian government, in the case of the brig Spark which secures to the owners of that vessel the payment of the indemnity claimed by them, viz: the sum of $5,000 dollars; and that he is assiduously employed in the prosecution of all other claims committed to his charge, of citizens of the United States, upon the said government.

The case of the Spark produced the rupture between Mr. Raguet, late Charge d'Affaires of the United States at Rio, and the Government at Brazil, and led that gentleman to demand his passports, and return to the United States."

If Mr. Raguet had conducted with firmness and coolness, instead of returning home without permission, we see no reason why he might not have effected the same arrangements.

FOREIGN.

LATEST FROM EUROPE.

By the packet ship *Birmingham*, capt. Harris, we have received London papers to the 7th, and Liverpool to the 8th September inclusive. The intelligence from the seat of war is but a few days later than our former advices.

The reported defeat of the Russian army before Schoumla is unfounded.

Schoumla is invested by the Russians; and it is alleged that all communication between that place and Constantinople is cut off.

The Russian position had been completely fortified.—The Turkish position had been (Aug. 7th) reconnoitred, and it was found that they had, upon a chain of heights which touched their left flank, vast entrenchments flanked by bastions. It was rumoured that Choumla was in want of provisions, and especially of forage for the cavalry, which had not quitted the fortress.

On the evening of the 7th, the Turks made a vigorous sally to drive the Russians from their position; but after a murderous conflict, they were repulsed, and retired into the place after suffering a great loss.

The Russians, during the night of the 7th, made an attack on and captured 14 vessels of the Turkish flotilla.

On the 9th, the Turks made a fresh attempt to dislodge the Russians from their positions; but were repulsed and pursued to the foot of the ramparts. In these sorties the Russians had 25 men killed and 37 wounded. The Turks, it is added, had been employed two whole days in burying their dead. The Russians claim to have been equally successful in resisting the sorties of the garrison of Selistria.

Letters from the Mediterranean state, that it was Admiral Sir Edward Codrington's intention to return to England in the *Warspite*, 74. A Turkish sloop which had attempted to evade the blockade of Navarino, was fired into by the *Warspite*, when five of her men were killed, and five wounded.

A difficulty with Morocco was announced at Lloyd's, by a communication from the British consul at Tangier, that an English brig, an Austrian polacca, and another vessel supposed to be a Russian, had been captured by the Moors and sent into Sallee, for want of a Mediterranean pass. The consul entered a protest and demanded the restoration of the English vessel.

The British Traveller of the 6th, speaking of the story from Constantinople, of a letter of credit on the Turkish capital having been provided for Lord Heytesbury, says, it has received corroboration from various sources this day, though we cannot pronounce it to be pertectly confirmed as yet. It is also reported that the Grand Vizier takes with him to head quarters two Diplomatists of high note. Important negociations are consequently expected by those who attach any credit to the rumour."

Silistria, Chiurgevo, and Rudschuk still hold out.

The national spirit of the Musselmen seems to have been aroused. It is affirmed that, in the second fruitless attempt on Varna, it was principally the inhabitants who repelled the attack, and, by a well directed fire from the batteries, alone hindered a landing from the fleet.

Accounts from Constantinople state that the levy, *en masse*, still continues; and that divisions of troops are continually proceeding towards Adrianople.

The accounts from the Turkish Capital to the 8th ult., that, according dispatches from Hussein Pacha, all the attacks upon Schoumla, up to the 2d, were victoriously repulsed. It is stated, in an article dated Semlin, that the Turkish Government had published bulletins describing the loss of the Russians, in their progress hitherto, to amount to 18,000 men.

From Bucharest it is stated that all the accounts are in favor of the Russians. Notwithstanding this, the necessity of reinforcements, in order to check the frequent sallies of the Turks from the places besiged, and their incursions into Wallachia, is admitted.

From Odessa, Aug. 13, it is stated that the Emperor would return to the army on the 22d, by which time the reinforcements, amounting to 85,000 men, would have joined the army, and the grand attack upon Schoumla would be made.

The Berlin State Gazette of the 28th ult., contains an article from Turkey in which it is stated that reinforcements had been sent to Varna, and that the Grand Vizier had been at length, directed to repair to the army at Adrianople.

Greece and Turkey.—If a statement, dated Corfou, July 28, be correct, the wily Egyptian has again outwitted his antagonists, and instead of evacuating the Morea, has procured from Alexandria reinforcements of men and provisions and that too in the vessels which were supposed to be transports for the conveyance of himself and his troops to Egypt. It is stated that 25 transports had arrived at Navarin, and further, that Ibrahim had sent his troops into the interior to reap the crops and carry off the cattle, in doing which they committed many outrages, and massacred some Greeks. It is added that, on hearing this intelligence, on the 19th, the English and French Admirals left Corfu and sailed for Navarin. A precious blockade they have made of it, and prettily they have been duped, if this account be correct. The second division of the French expedition to the Morea sailed from Toulon on the 20th ult. and it seems that they are likely to find the expulsion of the Egyptians a matter of more difficulty and labor than was anticipated.

Accounts from Paris state that new levies are being made, and new magazines preparing, for a further French expedition to the Morea. It is expected that the total number of troops will be 25,000.

Greece. Lord Cochrane.—In a letter from Paris, it is stated, on good authority, that Lord Cochrane is about to quit that city and return to Greece. It appears that his Lordship is to have some appointment connected with the expedition to the Morea.

Greek Coinage.—The Greek Government has caused coin to be struck of three denominations. The copper money has the name *Aegis* given to it; 100 *Aegides* are equal to a *Minerva*, which is a silver coin; there is also another silver coin called a five Phœnix piece, of the same value as the Minerva.—*National Advocate.*

Literary Department.

——"*Various, that the mind*
Of desultory man, studious of change,
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged."

THE WANING CRESCENT: OR THE FALL OF TURKEY.

The Pruth is cross'd and the Divan is met,
But the Mussulmans rally is vain;
The sun of thy glory, Oh Porte, is set!
Thy Crescent is fast on the wane.

The fierce hardy Russian appears at thy gates,
To lay proud minarets low;
Thy vineyards and oliveyards, fig trees and dates,
Wave over the head of a foe.

The Sultan may stamp, and the Vizier turn pale,
And the scymetars flash through thy halls;
But *destiny* murmurs in every gale,
But Ottoman dynasty *falls!*

A gloom on the mosque and the minaret reigns,
The Mufti is silent and grave;
Greeks, ages oppress'd, fling off their vile chains,
Though the Prophet's proud *banneret* wave.

The blood of the Christians by Mussulmans spilt,
For vengeance to heaven implores;
On rapine and murder thy empire was built,
And *now* they hang over thy shores.

Each Thracian wave shall be tinged with red,
The castle of seven high towers,
Shall tumble in ruin o'er tyranny's head,
Wide wasting her beautiful bowers.

The city of Constantine masters must change,
The Bosphorus' billowy tide
Shall bear on its bosom the heralds who range,
To publish the cross far and wide.

Yon temple,* once sacred to worship divine,
Justinian's glory and fame;
Inscribed on its altar-piece, pillars, and shrine,
Shall witness God's *true* Prophet's name.

The Scriptures of truth, and the anthem of praise,
Rehallow its echoing dome;
No more on its beauty the *Mollahs* shall gaze;
No *Ramazan* ever illume.

A *Tekel* is written on every wall,
If prophesy record be true;
The fabric of falsehood in ruins shall fall,
And all be created anew.

The Arab imposture shall vanish in smoke,
And dreadful its exit shall be;
The Hebrews escape from the *Saracen* yoke,
And Syrian Salem be free.

Abaddon, the Pope, and the Turk, if they please,
In trio, the truth may withstand;
But the dak rolling Nile, and the swift Euphrates
Shall glide through "Immanuel's land!"

And FREEDOM and truth on their green margin reign,
Each desolate desert shall smile;
No turbaned Mamaluke ravage the plain,
No robber of Araby spoil.

The Koran delusion, that *legend* of lies,
By fraud, cunning, sophistry, penn'd,
As the morning of truth lights the orient skies,
Shall vanish and come to an end.

No longer Medina and Mecca shall boast,
Of pilgrims who visit the shrine;
All Egypt set free, and Arabia's coast,
Shall taste of the *Bethlehem* vine.

Come sacred Messiah thy kingdom complete,
And set up thy throne in the East!
Save the nations, O Lamb, and put under thy feet
The draggon, false prophet, and beast!

*St. Sophia, built by the emperor Justinian.

March! march! hardy Russ, to fulfil his decree,
And carry God's terrible brand!
Let the Jew and the Greek from OPPRESSION BE FREE,
But scourge the Mohommedan band!

From the Christian Teacher's Manual.

SECRET WORSHIP.

Wouldst thou in thy lonely hour
Praises to th' Eternal pour?
I will teach thy soul to be
Temple, hymn, and harmony.

Sweeter songs than poets sing
Thou shalt for thy offering bring—
The unutter'd hymn that dwells
In devotion's deepest cells.

Know that music's holiest strain
Loves to linger, loves to reign
In that calm of quiet thought,
Which the passions trouble not.

And that living temple, where
Peace and hope, and silence are,
Is the sacred citidel
Where the Father loves to dwell.

Wouldst thou in thy lonely hour
Praises to the Eternal pour?
Thus thy soul may learn to be
Temple, hymn, and harmony.

Mr. Editor, I have attempted to write a few lines, on the evening, being encouraged to do so from the poetic talent of George Horton. If they are worthy you will give them an insertion in your paper. W.

ON THE EVENING.

The evening lamps begin to glow,
And light they pour on all below
To mark the course and teach the way
In absence of the King of day.

They shine with undiminish'd ligh ;
But not for us are they so bright:
Their light and heat, the wise believe,
To other worlds they freely give.

But none can say that this is so
The fool, the wise, none of them know—
These thoughts, at least, our minds do raise
And call for songs of humble praise.

Yon lucid orb of heavenly light,
I mean the silver Queen of night;
Shines on us with her borrow'd rays,
And thus she mocks our brighter days.

Her swelling floods and roaring seas,
Her fiery mounts and verdant trees,
All join to chaunt the grateful song,
"To him who made us, we belong."

The breathing lives that in her dwell
The wonders of our God do tell;
But mystery all—we cannot see
How all these things can truly be.

We cannot see, but we would praise
The author of these wond'rous ways;
And when our pen in silence lies
We hope to scale the fading skies.

From the Torch Light.

THE OAK TREE.

The Hickory Tree grows deep and high,
Its green clad beauties please the eye,
It spreads around a friendly shade,
'Tis stately formed and toughly made;
But still it is inferior far,
It cannot with the Oak compare:
The Oak its top can wave as high,
It is as pleasing to the eye,
As deep beneath the soil is found,
And spreads as sweet a shade around:
But still when nature formed the two,
Quite different ends she had in view.
Unto the noble Oak she gave
The conquest of the ocean's wave;
Bade it triumphant o'er it ride,
Become its ornament and pride,
And bear to every clime and shore,
The blessings commerce had in store.
But to the Hickory she assigned,
Uses of a far meaner kind;
For as 'tis tough and can't be broke,
She found it made a lasting yoke:
And then decreed the Hickory Tree,
For mading YOKES alone should be.
Then those who wish the yoke to wear,
And a fell tyrant's burden bear,
Who do not prize their liberty,
May rally round the Hickory Tree;
But we, the Oak will ever love,
The pride, the glory of the grove;
Emblem of Civic worth 'twill stand,
The pride of every Classic land:
Columbia, in its shade doth rest,
With honor, peace, and plenty blest,
And while she joys the Oak to see,
She spurns with scorn the Hickory Tree.

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